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The Role of the Brotherhood (Ikhvan - Almuslimin) Thinking's On the Formation of Turkey's Justice and Development Party (2002 To 2016)

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Abstract: Religion and politics have unique conditions in Turkey. Since the foundation of Osmani reign, the most important challenge in Turkey has been the relationship between Islamic rullig and maternal-monarchy. By Osmani's collapse in 1923, ruling of Ataturk and creation of novel- republic in Turkey, this relationship had become more complicated. On the other hand, Turkey as an Islamic country has been influenced by Islamic groups such as Ekhvan-Almuslimin. Ikhvan Almuslemin contemporary to the republic of Turkey has conducted various activities in the Islamic countries. It also started practices to dominate on Turkey by gaining power in countries like Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Qatar. This domination has been intensified when the justice- development Islamists got into power in 2002.

The Turkey's Islamist leaders who have found a flatter route for Islamists by winning different elections in Turkey are trying to empower Ikhvan- Almuslimin party and its dependent groups in other Islamic countries.

Keywords: Turkey, Justice and Development Party, Ikhvan- Almuslimin ,Osmani

INTRODUCTION

There have always been numerous debates on the religion and politics in Islam, their conflicts and interferences in the Islamic countries and their effects on the social and political areas. Regarding the efficient role of some Islamic countries, the challenge between religion and politics in these countries has been disputed. One of these countries is Turkey. Being located between two continents of Europe and Asia and two different cultural contexts (Islam and Christianity), the history of Osmani empire formation, the collapse of Osmani reign in this region and the formation of novel- republic, the important role of armies in politics and finally the interaction of Islamic tradition and western modernism are some factors which converted Turkey into one of the most important and efficient Islamic countries. However, what is discussed in this paper is the relationship between religion and politics emphasizing on the role of Ikhvan- Almuslimin as the most important political movement of the contemporary Islam during 2002 to 2016. This period which is the start point of a new history in Turkey, has been began by empowering the justice and development party.

On the other hand, by admitting the Political-Islam through the political social transformations during 20th century, some indications of Islamic movement growths emerged within the Middle East region. Ikhvan- Almuslimin movement had filled the theoretical vacuum of the political system for Sunni people very quickly.

By early founding of this movement in Egypt, the different branches of Ikhvan Almuslimin pervaded into other Islamic countries and found a position in the political structure there. The teachings by Ikhvan Almuslimin are fully prominent in the Islamic societies in which there exist powerful Islamist groups. This issue is more observed in Turkey. In this country the role of religion has been influential traditionally. The influential role of religion in Turkey can be understood by analyzing Osmani empire and also its sequels in the republic of Turkey (Ataturk times). In addition, the Osmani kings introduced their roles as religious leaders and political advocates in the Islam's world (Arsalantas 2013). Because of this the anti-religious policies by Ataturk and his attempts to omit religion from policy scene in Turkey have never abolished Islamism in Turkey. The Turkish Islamists recall many nostalgic instances from political Islam in the past, each can be viewed as a map for their futures. In addition to the history of early Islam, the experience of Osmani empire and leadership of the Islam world for a long time have given a particular position to Islamism in Turkey.

Nevertheless, the main questions in present paper are as follows: what are the impacts of Ikhvan almoslemin thinking's on the domestic and foreign policies of Turkey between 2002 to 2016? To some extent the religious and intellectual basics of justice-development party have been affected by Ikhvan- almoslemins thinkings? The present paper hypothesis is that the empowerment of the Islamism stream Ikhvan- Almuslimin among Islamic communities has increased its influential trend on the domestic- foreign policies of Turkey from 2002, also the intellectual foundations of the justice- development party in domestic – foreign dimensions has been influenced by this religious- political stream and this party can be called the governmental – brotherhood, the present paper exploits the theoretical framework of Ahmed Davood oglos's strategic depth.

-The research's theoretical framework, Davood oglos strategic depth theory:

The theory of strategic- depth by Davood oglo and his book titled the strategic depth. The position and role of Turkey on the international level can be considered as a map for its foreign policy during last 14 years. By looking at the theory of strategic depth by Davood oglo it can be said that the foundations of this theory have linked the geographic capacities of Turkey to its historical ones and it defines a multiple identity for Turkey. From Davood oglo's view the geological and geostrategic capacity of Turkey creates this capability for this country that has become a bridge between east and west. By this definition the Anatoli's wings are opened on the geographic range of Middle East, Europe, Balkan and Caucasus and the Islamic - Turkish- European capabilities should be used to link Turkey to neighbor regions in order to supply Turkey' s benefits. The result of this strategic view is to choose the dynamic and multifaceted foreign- policy which converts the security view into the tensional one. The final objective of this strategic approach which has a close link with universal system is not only the enhancement of Turkey' s position in region and the world but also it became a big power (Davood oglo 2002). It seems that one requirement to implement this policy in the region and world is the cultural and identical view to increase the bargaining power of this country in the region and world. To do so, the Turkish leaders tended to the general diplomacy and enhanced their relationship with neighbors. Davood oglo in his popular doctrine believes that after the collapse of the world's bipolar structure and the new independent countries getting rid of communism, Turkey can play a more efficient role in the region. Davood oglos approach is based on this foundation that the cultural approaches ruling in the Turkey 's surroundings can be considered as an effective attraction to enhance the position of the country.

Davood oglo who views the cultural and identity foundation the basic of his theory, believes that the previous elites of Turkey didn't find such an important position for Turkey and this unawareness has had many negative impacts on Turkey's position. In another essay Davood oglo assesses the Turkey' s foreign policy and believes that some problems to which the foreign policy structure of Turkey are facing in relation to the coordination of different regions policies, to some extent are affected by the unique geographical features of Turkey. Unlike other players of Asia, Turkey is facing with geopolitics' diversity beyond its geographical range. This country is obliged to show interest to some region on the same time and level. To illustrates the topic, the following example can be stated: china which is wider than Turkey in terms of population and area,

in terms of its main features is related to the eastern Asia and Pacific, while Turkey instead of being smaller than this country in terms of population and area, is related to the eastern Europe, western Asia, Balkan, caucuses and Middle East areas. It also has a position which can interfere in the most important marine scopes of big continent "afro Eurasia" directly or indirectly. Such a position requires coordination between regional policies as the main issue of foreign policy in Turkey. The gradual missing of the concept "economic-geographic" and "cultural-geographic" separation lines of regions after the cold war and acceleration of interactions among these regions, has increased the need to this coordination (Davood oglo). According to Davood oglo's doctrine the special geographical position of Turkey allows it to not being just a centralized region and uses the opportunities in the region. In his words, Turkey has a multiple identity; thus our country is able to follow multi-dimensional responsibility abroad in the foreign policy scope. (Davood oglo 2010). It is obvious that Davood oglo points to the opportunities occurred after the collapse of bipolar system by which Turkey can reach a suitable position as an effective country. Davood oglo designs bases of a political system well which is beyond the current geography and due to this it especially looks at the Islamic countries.

- Ikhvan Almuslimin and contemporary Islamic period:

The Ikhvan Almuslimin movement was established in 1928 by Hassan Albana one of the famous Egyptian figures. Hassan albana began his early activities in the Esmaili city of Egypt and developed his social base gradually by empowering in Egypt. He could attract a lot of followers. Following the success in Esmailieh, he transmitted his invitation to Cairo. At first he centralized his invitation among university students, because they were the beating heart of political movements. But he didn't ignore public invitations. In fact, joining a large number of students to him helped to speak to people in the cities and villages equally and expand the invitation among different classes. Of Ikhvan-almoslemis practices before second world war (1932-39) by the expansion of invitation were to introduce Islam as a right to the essence life system and needless of other rules and western philosophies and tribal attitudes and other profligate intellectual streams and biased nationalism. (Michael 1395). Hassan Albana specified the Islamic teachings related to the politics and community and believed that Islamic societies can gain more deliverable position by relying on their religious and native culture. He believed that the main factor of failures in Islamic societies is the lack of respect to the Islamic original teachings which have gone to the margin due to the Muslims disregards and colorizations dominance. He played his role as the restorative of these values.

It is appearing that the formation of Ikhvan Almuslemin stream has been a response to the social _political crises of Egypt and the world of Islam. In this regard Hassan Albana and his followers in response to the colonization, dictatorship and lags of Muslims specified social and political dimensions of the Islamic teachings. In particular, the political activities by Ikhvan Almuslemin began in the Esmailie city of Egypt and then it was transmitted to other parts of Egypt and later to most countries of the world of Islam. The early central branch of Ikhvan Almuslemin (Daralekhvan) in Esmailie was established during 5 years and mostly 40 to 50 branches were formed through the country. Along with the development of Ikhvan Almuslemin each branch also a charity institution, a weave workshop, a mosque and a training institute were established. The Shabrakhit branch at Albohira province was the first branch of Ikhvan Almuslemin. This branch was opened at Shabrakhit city in 1930. Hamed Askari was one of the close friends of Hassan Albana and his agent at the allocation department in Esmailie who was sent to Shabrakhit following some complaints against him. He established the Ikhvan Almuslemin branch at Shabrakhit with the help of Ghasem Javid and other residents of area in the presence of Hassan Albana and also he constructed mosques and schools. Of course if it is assumed that the population of Hasafie Mahmoodie was belonged to one of the branches of Ikhvan Almuslemin to which Ahmed Alaskari was leader, it should be viewed as the first branch of Ikhvan Almuslemin where Hassan Albana with Ahmed Askari established this population during their youth times. During his education at Cairo he always went there on the weekend. But this branch as the mother branch of EKhan Almuslimin, was isolated from other branches until 1938. In addition to these branches, occasionally Hassan Albana sent some representatives to invite and preach in other parts. According to the request of

gypsum mine workers, he sent Albala Mohammed Farghli to them. He had such an effect on the workers that the company complaints and finally another person was sent instead of him. The second central branch of Ikhvan Almuslemin (Dar alekhvan) was at Cairo. About 50 years after the foundation of a movement at Esmailie, on October 1932, Albana was transferred to Cairo as the teacher of Abbas Sabtie school. Because of this also the central branch was transferred to Cairo. The site of it was changed several times during the presence of Albana (Farahi 2001). Different situations of Ikhvan Almuslemin in the Islamic countries caused the penetration of a small numbers of movements in the Islamic countries with such a considerable speed.

It can be said that the history of the Islam never witnessed a religious _political movement like Ikhvan Almuslemin which could attract the attention of many Islamic and Arab states and gather some loyal advocates. The most important factor of Ikhvan Almuslemin's success out of the country was that the political element within it has influenced the religious element. If the movement was just a religious one, its advocates were of certain social layers. However, their attitudes toward the liberal policy and their cooperation with nationalists in trying to remove foreign invasions and prevent stimulation of factional conflicts could gather a lot of advocates of different social classes and from politicians and scholars. Out of Egypt Ikhvan Almuslemin was more a political party than a religious one. From the very beginning Ikhvan Almuslemin with religious and factional conflicts in the Islamic countries _especially Shi'it and Sunni_ decided to compile Muslims under the Quran flag in the first step and avoid any factional positioning. They frequently pointed to this issue in their lectures and writings. Because of this they could attract public support. In many Islamic countries Ikhvan Almuslemin hoped to attract non _ Sunni factions and also in practice whether in Egypt or abroad, they gained remarkable successes. (Muses Alhasani 2016). The Ikhvan Almuslemin movement conveyed this point to their followers well that the Islam isn't just belonged to the ethical religion or religious rituals. Rather Islam attempts to reform social and political structures.

The political activities by Hassan Albana led to his terror. But the political activities by Ikhvan Almuslemin stream after his terror didn't stop. Even the frequent suppressions in Egypt couldn't prevent the growth of the Albana's thoughts. Some advocates migrated to the neighbors and tried to form religious _political organizations with respect to the future opportunities. However after Albana's death and outbreak of the conflicts among leaders of Ikhvan, the different species of Ikhvan Almuslemin developed rapidly. Therefore, after Albana's death also a large number of Ikhvan Almuslemin's members were exiled to abroad. Those who went to the Saudi Arabia were affected by the abstract ideology of Saudis. Another group who migrated to Turkey and Indonesia encountered societies which in the presence of Muslims, had a wide range of groups and communities that lived together peacefully and a small number of them inhabited in Western countries and inherited the Democratic liberty of the European traditions (RamaSan 2010). It seems that it is difficult to segregate religious and political activities by Ikhvan Almuslemin, knowing that Islamic teachings are the backbones of diplomacy and desired society of Ikhvan Almuslemin. Regardless the formation of the Islamic government as the adopted base of Ikhvan, the growth and flourish of this stream in the Islamic countries have been different and there have been various interpretations of Hassan Albans teachings.

Nevertheless, political practices by Ikhvan Almuslemin is addressed from two significant aspects: one is the privative and the other is affirmative mode. The privative mode is summarized in the negation of western colonization and domination system more than anything else which also Ikhvan Almuslemin formed its roots in it. However, the political stream of Ikhvan Almuslemin bind itself to the public opinion and votes in forming the government, but due to the considerable influence of leaders on the policies and programs of movement, the role of central organization has been colorless. It is observed that in each period a charismatic or pseudo _charismatic leader got into the power who was influential in the Ikhvan Almuslemin follower's views more than organizational programs. It appears that one of the reasons of negative attitudes by Ikhvan Almuslemin stream towards the organization and organizational efforts rooted in this issue. However, at present, Ikhvan Almuslemin stream has had a significant impact on the Islamic groups in Turkey such as justice and development party which is discussed below.

- Islamism and justice _development party in Turkey:

The social system of Turkey in 20th century has never been uniformed. The emergence of perfectionist's elites and nationalists, advocates of the West and western thinking in Turkey and the undeniable role of Islamists in this country formed three main poles of power each tried to increase its power. Nationalists tended mainly to the West, perfectionist elites also preferred the social development and modernization than other things. Finally, the Islamic forces who had a Nostalgic look at the history of the incumbency of the principle of ruling in Islam formed the Islamic groups and participated in the cooperative practices based on the doctrinal system and the Islamic thoughts. After they joined the Islamic movements, they tried to implement the Islamic ideologic rules and participated in the political activities. The emergence of the Islamic movements at the early 20th century and their expansions to the Middle East region was because the Caliphate system by a nonreligious government (new republic of Turkey) had been dissolved in 1924. The crisis of Caliphate had the greatest influence on the emergence and growth of the Islamic movements. Because up to that time, due to the Osmani Caliphate, Sunni Muslims didn't feel a need to form political groups that advocated the foundation of the Islamic government. (Ahmed 2011). This crisis overweighs the Islamic forces of Turkey more than anything. As the Islamic forces of Turkey considered themselves as the authorities of Caliphate institutions among the Islamic societies (especially Sunni) and in the same vein they seek to form political groups. However, the presence of pluralism in the social structure of Turkey _Targoisim _approached to the West and the outstanding role of Turkish nationalism and army inhibited the complete domination of the Islamists in Turkey. However, it can be concluded that the pluralism in Turkey has been an important factor in the Islamist empowerment.

Islamism in Turkey has been different from other Islamic countries. Several Sufi methods and the lack of a leadership admitted by all of them have caused the lack of required capacities in this country to develop religious mobilizing movements. It is follows that the Islam of Sufi in two ways reinforced pluralism in Turkey: one way by different Sufi teachings and beliefs based on the internal cognition and the other by several groups created by Sufi 's different methods. Although not all people in Turkey but a large number of them belonged to the religious methods. These methods play a big role in the country. Of course instead of conflicts among them, all of them bind themselves to the Islamic rules. Each method has been created around a charismatic person who gained his credit from his assignment to the older leader and finally the beginning of this chain backed to the holy prophet of Islam. (Movasegi & Etemadi far 2014). The promotion of the methodological Islam in this country caused the relative dispersion of groups and it was a big barrier to unify all Islamic groups under one flag. This the difference between political Islam in Turkey with the political Islam in other parts is that the formed political Islam in Turkey doesn't assume a revolutionary status and it often seek to play role in the political structure of country peacefully. The coming into power of the welfare party in 1996 has formed a hope among the Islamists that the participation in the political processes democratically benefits them much more. But this participation has not always been possible without challenges.

The Islamism in Turkey always considered itself as an alternative to get into the power. As from the very beginning of the activities by Ataturk and perfectionists, different groups such as Naghshbandye Sufi standed against them and demand the social _political role of the Islam. In response to them the government controlled their activities. Army that was required to protect secular identity of Turkey had a particular supervision on the Islamic activities. Such pressures led to more isolation of the Islamists. However, some of them like Naghshbandye challenged perfectionist attitudes in different forms such as underground activities. The Islamic groups had different demands from the complete foundation of the Islamic religion in the country to the restoration of Caliphate and ideas like Muslims alliance by recovering Turkey relations with the Arab world. The radical groups with lower advocates faced by the intense pressures from government. But the moderates had more discretion and scope. During the period after Ataturk and especially after 1950s in which the country encountered different trends of political space openings by the outbreak of the economic

_political anarchists, in total a more suitable climate was provided for Islamists (Ghanbarlo 2013). The most important characteristic which caused the Islamic streams in Turkey to introduce themselves as a political power, the tendency towards the admission of Democratic political rules in the country. Unlike other Islamic streams in the region which defined the opposition in armed combat, Turkish Islamists followed a peaceful way and just this was an element for their considerable success.

The historical evidence shows that instead of the acceptance of Democratic rules by Islamists always faced with many problems. For instance the welfare party of Erbakan had a lot of problems. The first problem was that this government was the first practical experience of the Islamism in Turkey after Atatürk and this problem increased the pressure on Erbakan government. The second problem was that the welfare party couldn't make a bridge between Islamic requests and Laic forces in Turkey. Hence the military coup against Erbakan government didn't face with sharp reaction of the Islamists. Therefore, from the very beginning it was appeared that the Islamic disputes over the welfare party didn't have a high capacity to solve domestic problems of Turkey, because Erbakan as the leader of welfare party couldn't balance his deconstruction battles against perfectionism and need to protect the benefits of secular institutions in Turkey. Whereby the policies imposed by this party led to the disputes along with the Islamic / secular gaps; On the other hand, by accepting the custom alliance with Europe union and also continuing economic _political relations to Israel, upset the Islamic groups, and also by insisting on the issue of veil and development of mosque activities, distrust secular entities against himself. These policies along with the anti-secularist background of Erbakan caused the horror among perfectionists especially military and leaders of the Constitution court in Turkey; For this reason in 1997 the national security assembly of Turkey (under the control of army) presented a list of practices which were opposed to perfectionist disputes and Erbakan was asked to prevent the expansion of these activities; When Erbakan shocked these recommendations the perfectionists arose against Islamic groups and they obliged him to resign; So the welfare party was dissolved and Erbakan with his followers have been banned from any political activity for 5 years. (Imma Jomezade 2014). At last the welfare party couldn't become a perfect representative of the Islamic streams in Turkey. Although this party have also had many social _economic advancements as the first political agent of the recent streams, but it never make a compromise between its supports and opponents demands.

The Islamism in justice _development party negates religious and political radicalism. So the model of "Islamic democracy" in Turkey can't state non-Democratic and violent behaviors as a means to get its political objectives. Hence the justice and development party emphasized on secularism which is a result of a Democratic process. Because the previous Islamic parties have been closed by the charge of being opposed to the secularism, the leaders of the justice and development party act very conservatively now. Thus this party has challenges in the rites of religion such as scarf and religious training. Considering these issues, it can be concluded that there is a conflict between the actual secularism and actual Islamism and these two couldn't complement each other in Turkey (Ghahraman, Pooran 2014). Of course it seems that it will be difficult to fill the gap of what is called actual Islamism and actual secularism.

By access to the different media and the expansion of its power over journals and parties, the justice and development party has resorted to the economic _populism. They intercept domestic oppositions and critics systematically by the promise that Turkey will be the top power in the region and it plays the role of "older brother" in the Middle East. As it was stated the founders of the justice and development party and Academicians at first tended to welcome neoliberal policies openly; They just followed those populist policies which had been implemented in Latin-American countries for many years and tried to enhance their economic positions (Sonar 2016). On the other hand, the leaders of the justice and development party by their implicit and explicit support of domestic Islamists sought to increase the role of religion in the political structure of Turkey and also to decrease the role of the military. The recent coup in this country shows that the military structure of Turkey consist of security entities and the former militaries are still opposed to Erdogan

programs. However, this coup makes it clear that the shadow of "political populism " also drags the hopes to link "secular democracy " and "political Islam "into darkness.

-The effects of Ikhvan Almuslemin thoughts on the justice and development party:

The justice and development party under the impression of political thoughts of Ikhvan Almuslemin got the title "governmental brothers ". Thus if we want to name the streams converged to Ikhvan Almuslemin as a government and political system, Turkey and Qatar are the main choices. Due to the regional reasons and it's limited strategic power, Qatar avoids an overt role in the region's transformations, as they don't have the ability to pay costs of it fails. But Turkey by seeking the recovery of it's stance in the world of Islam and it followed the policy of looking at the Middle East , it was entered into the transformations called Arabic spring rapidly. Turkey could interfere in the construction of these transformations as a representative of the West; where no western country allowed itself to enter into it explicitly, as probably each direct interfere had been faced with public force's hard reaction. (Tahai). The Turkey support is to show that the moderate Islam is the best pattern to introduce Islam to the contemporary world.

Although these views were followed by Ikhvan Almuslemin during last years incompletely, the coming into power of the Islamists in Turkey accelerated this trend. The leaders of Ikhvan Almuslemin frequently followed the necessity of matching Islam teachings to the transformations of the era. According to one of the researchers: " Muslims can't live in an environment separated from other people and without paying attention to the international relations. In contrast at present they find themselves at the center of a world involved in several economic _political and educational issues. Just those will success who are more powerful and have more effective tools "(Mosa Alhoseini 2016). Although maybe these views had been realized to some extent by forming an Islam ist government like justice and development party in Turkey and leaders of this party show their loyalty to these views in domestic and regional policies, they never could implement what Ikhvan Almuslemin sought to do.

The formation of an "Islamic United nation" and accurate execution of the " Islamic rules " and finally the foundation of an " Islamic system " are some issues for which there is little hope to occur.

However, the justice and development party in its leader's speeches is an Islamic party. They claim the leadership of Islam world and more importantly they advocate the Islamists like Ikhvan Almuslemin and used their opinions to allied Islamic groups in Turkey. Because of this the justice and development party introduces itself more in a form of a conservative Democratic party which has many distinctions with it's predecessors (Arsalantes 2013). Or again to realize Ikhvan Almuslemin teachings about the increase in the Islamic power efficiently on the regional level, the justice and development party has always increased it's policies; In the form of that policy of interacting with [Islamic] countries of the Middle East (Caya 2016), what is called the theory of neo_Osmanism or restoration of the Islamic Caliphate has a lot of similarities to the development of Islamic culture at the present . This is what Ikhvan Almuslemin based it's objectives upon it. In this regard, the second article of Ikhvan Almuslemin code states that: " Ikhvan Almuslemin is an Islamic and universal movement which tries to achieve the Islamic goals ". This article means that not only the Ikhvan Almuslemin is an Egyptian and Arabic movement but also it is Islamic and universal. This was a principle, but in practice Ikhvan Almuslemin wanted an exponential trend which began from national unity and passing through the Arab alliance, it led to the Islamic alliance. In their opinion, these three ideas are compatible, because the Islam requires all human beings to serve their country in a best way. All Muslims are equal and the Islamic homeland, though far away from each other, is United. According to this definition, Ikhvan Almuslemin sought alliance of thoughts and insights of Muslims and reinforced the Islamic brotherhood links. They emphasized that the Islamic homeland is wherever Muslims are living (Mosa Alhoseini 2016). This caused the prevalence of Ikhvan Almoslemin's looking at all the Islamic countries like Turkey. Based on the motto of the Ikhvan Almuslemin also Turkey was viewed as an Islamic country, as their people were followers of Islam. It seems that the justice and development party has developed such view in the form of Osmanism theory and alliance of the Islamic world.

The strategic and ideologic links are exist among justice and development party in Turkey. Ikhvan Almuslemin is one of the "identitistic" groups of the region which has created a new season in the transformations of the Islamic groups. Of course it should be noted that most organizations and movements of Ikhvan Almuslemin in the Arabic countries are also converged to the Hamas organization. They are new social forces which could develop the revolutionary wave in different social scopes of the Middle East. These forces are the main authorities of resistance to the threats from America and Israel in the Middle East. The Israel attack in October _September 2006 against Hezbollah named 33 days' war and Israel attack against Hamas named 22 days' war can be a symbol of war between countries that demand the regional Hegemony against identity forces in the Middle East (Motaghi st all 2016). Meanwhile the Sunni formations have relatively good ideologic links to Turkey and also they considered Shi'i groups of the Islamic republic of Iran as a political pattern. Thus the political competitions of Iran and Turkey can be intensified by the interaction of these Islamic groups in the region. The Syria crisis is the evident scene of Iran and Turkey interaction.

From another perspective one of the effective ideas of Ikhvan Almusleminis the battle with divisive policies which disturbed the alliance of the Islamic world. To put it simply the main task and the nature of the Islamic movement formation in this era is the foundation of the Islamic government and confrontation with non-Islamic countries. It follows that the justice and development party has played such a role effectively. To achieve this goal, Turkey used different tools and strategies among which the communication with Ikhvan Almusleminis the most important. Turkey seeked to reinforce Ikhvan Almuslemin against the Islam of Alghaede, however in prac6even it defends the Islam of Alghaede in Syria. The Islamic roots of the justice and development party have provided grounds for its contact with Ikhvan Almuslemin traditionally. In particular, the position of justice and development party against Israel had been faced with Ekhvan's welcome in different Arab countries. As an example in early 2009 the Ikhvan Almusleminin Jordan exalted the Turkey 's positions against Palestine and Israel problem demanded the Arab countries to learn from Turkey. These events entailed a good linkage between Ikhvan Almuslemin and Turkey (Tabatabai & Fazl Khani 2014).

Leaders of the justice and development party by relying on the religious thoughts of the people in Turkey and their efforts for what is called " Islamic democracy ", has created a considerable success for Turkey. It is said that the coalition of Turkey and Ikhvan Almusleminin the issue of Gaze can give an outstanding role to each side and even both can arrange practices against Israel (Merely 2011). These policies show the Islamic tendencies of the justice and development party on the foreign policy well. The interactions between countries with shared cultures to Turkey is the best example of making relationship with these countries and applying these ideas. An idea by Davood Oglo the designer of Turkey 's foreign policy is seeking. To do so Turkish leaders by choosing policies agreed to the Ikhvan Islamists viewed themselves as the active representatives of the Islamic movements in the region. Moreover the winner of the election 2006 in Palestine was Hamas and the justice and development party got the power during the prime ministering of Rajab Taib Ordogan, these elements caused Istanbul to become the main center of the IkhvanAlmoslemin's activities. (Merely 2011). In this regard Turkey continues its relationship with Palestine and Lebanon. But this doesn't mean that they diverge far away from the West.

Conclusions

Our study shows that the Ikhvan thoughts have had a deep and stable impact on the justice and development party such that in most cases the foreign and domestic policy of Turkey has been formed under the influence of the Ikhvan Almoslemin's views. The closed and ideologic relations between the Ikhvan Almusleminand the justice and development party as two aging streams have directed the domestic and foreign policies of the justice and development party to support the Ikhvan Almusleminin the region more than ever. The presence of two powerful governments consistent with the transformations of the Middle East towards the exploiting of Ikhvan thoughts and trying to develop it in the Modern era. Perhaps this attitude in its nature requires the

confrontation with other Islamic streams like Shi'i world. The different forms of this confrontation is also seen in some political positions of the two countries.

The third factor which affects the domestic and foreign transformations of Turkey is Islamism. Turkish Islamists who until the justice and development party empowerment had an executive power, just for 1 years (during Arab Spring), have underwent difficult test. But when the justice and development party came into the power it was appeared that the dream of forming an Islamic government had been realized. The justice and development party in its center Recep Tayyip Erdogan followed the foreign policy of the country to support Ikhwan Almuslemeen in different parts. They attempted to increase the role of the Islamic group in the transformations of the region and the world and displaying themselves as a good pattern for Islamists.

The support of the Islamism, the moderate attitudes toward foreign policy and playing the role of the older brother in the region transformations, are indications of the implementation of the Islamic Turkish pattern for the Islamic world. A pattern in the view of some analysts and of course the opponents of Hegemony in Turkey titled "neo-Osmanism". However the Neo-Osmanism in the political teachings and behaviors of the Turkish officials is the revival of the Ottoman empire, but occasionally it has taken an imbalanced path and shifted the policy of region from "force balance" to the "force competition". The evident interference of Turkey in Syria and efforts to affect the neighbor's transformations such as Iraq, the frequent supports of the American policies by the justice and development government and also the support of extreme Islamic groups caused Turkey to encounter various reactions inside and out of the country.

It appears that instead of the remarkable successes, just inside and out of the Turkey has been subjected to a difficult test. A test which has had brilliant successes in social variables and economic growth, but it is possible to face challenges in sharing power and in developing Democratic rules in Turkey. The issue related to the Kurdish people, the suppression of the opponents, the dissatisfaction of Osmanism in the justice and development party by the minority of Shi'is and also the privatization of power in the hands of Recep Tayyip Erdogan are the most important challenges on the way of the pattern of the Islamic world with irreversible risks.

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